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CARDINAL TENETS OF THE PEOPLES PARTY.

Recognition of the Right of the People to Rule, *i. e.*, The Initiative and Referendum.
Creation and Maintenance of an Honest Measure of Values.
Government Ownership and Operation of Railroad, Telegraph and Telephone Lines.
Opposition to Trusts.
Opposition to Alien Ownership of Land and Court-made Law.

NOTES OF THE WEEK.

IT IS only seven weeks since the signing of the peace protocol at Washington that was the signal for the suspension of hostilities in the Spanish war. Yet it seems like a tolerably long time to elapse between the signing of the protocol and the entering upon negotiations for the making of a permanent peace; negotiations only this week entered upon at Paris by the Peace Commissioners of the United States and Spain. The duration of the war with Spain was little more than twice seven weeks and that it should take half as long as it took to fight the war for

Peace Commissioners of the two combatants to get together in order to form a firm and lasting peace, bid fair to take longer to make peace than it took to fight the war, is somewhat remarkable. And in looking back it seems to most men that more than seven weeks have passed since the signing of the peace protocol. These seven weeks have seemed very long and so the time elapsing between the signing of the protocol and the meeting of the Peace Commission in Paris seems longer than it really has been. During the war and after many events and many more than the ordinary number of shifting scenes were crowded into each week, so that the weeks seem as if they had been dragged out in length and it is hard to realize that only seven weeks have passed since the signing of the preliminary peace.

So quickly do men adapt themselves to changed conditions, to changed scenes, changed kind of news that they soon come to feel as if such changed conditions had been ever present, feel as if they had always lived in the presence of such scenes, their ears always fed by such news. And thus does the Spanish war already seem like old history, though signs of its lateness are constantly passing before our eyes and marks of its nearness being presented to our ears; and even so does the signing of the peace protocol seem to us like an old story, though it is but seven weeks old. The time since the signing of the protocol thus appearing so long it is natural that we should feel at times that little has been accomplished in the direction of the carrying out of the provisions of the protocol, that we make haste slowly, very slowly, toward the establishment of peace on a solid basis. But be it remembered that but seven weeks have passed since the signing of the preliminary agreement for peace on the basis of the immediate evacuation of Cuba and Puerto Rico by Spain, the ceding to us of one of the Caroline islands and the relegation of the question of the disposition of the Philippines to a Peace Commission to meet in Paris for the settlement of this question and the formulating of a permanent treaty of peace upon the lines set forth in the preliminary agreement, the protocol. And at the end of these seven weeks we find the evacuation of Puerto Rico by the Spanish troops well under way, the evacuation of Cuba just commencing, the joint Peace Commission meeting in Paris.

WHILE the Spanish troops have been evacuating Puerto Rico, the soldiers being shipped back to Spain as fast as ships became available for their transport, and as from one part of the island after another the Spanish troops have been withdrawn the island has fallen more and more under our military rule. And now nearly the whole of the island save the capital is under our rule. And while this change of rule has been taking place our army in the island has been reduced to 10,000 men or less, reduced from an army of conquest to an army of garrison. Puerto Rico is nearly ready to be visited by a Congressional committee to decide as to its future form of government. The commission sent to the Hawaiian Islands has decided to recommend for those islands a territorial form of government such as our existing territories now have. The establishment of such territorial form of govern-

ment in the Hawaiian Islands may mean the carving out of a new state or it may not. For the admission of the Hawaiian Islands as a state the commission paved the way in recommending the establishment of a territorial government for the temporary rule of the islands, a form of government under which they will choose their own legislature, enact their own local laws, enjoy local self-government, a form of government under which they will be as free as an American state save that the governor will be appointed from Washington instead of being elected and the judges of the Supreme Court be likewise selected.

It is most probable that a similar form of government to that recommended by the Congressional committee for the Hawaiian Islands will be established for Puerto Rico. And many fold more worthy of admission into the American Union as a state is Puerto Rico than the group of Hawaiian Islands, which, however, is not saying much, for the Hawaiian Islands are not deserving of admission as an American state at all. Indeed, it would be a crime to admit the Hawaiian Islands to statehood in the American Union, for it would be the admission into the Union as a state, not of free people, but of an oligarchy of a few hundreds of men, the making of a new Congressional district such as only has its parallel in some of the Mississippi districts where suffrage is so hindered and restricted that a few hundred votes will serve to elect a Congressman, while in other states it will take as many thousands.

IN CUBA little progress has been made in the way of evacuation save with the supposed bones of Columbus. They have been dug up that they may be buried again in Spanish soil, the soil of the Spain that treated him so shabbily during his life. However, a tardy appreciation of worth is better than none at all and so let no hindrance be placed in the way of the Spanish people honoring the memory of a great man. Besides we have no right to interfere with the removal of these bones, for high legal talent assures us that they are to be regarded as the personal property of the Spanish Government, not as the public property of Cuba.

The making of progress in the evacuation of Cuba, the sending of the Spanish troops back to Spain has been hindered, if not stopped by the fact that the ships of the Spanish Transatlantic Company have been engaged in other service. And so there have not arrived in Cuba the ships in which to commence the embarking of Spanish troops for return to their motherland. The truth is there must be employment of other ships than those of the Spanish Transatlantic Company, unless the evacuation of Cuba is to be permitted to drag through the winter. It appears there are no less than 115,000 soldiers still in Cuba to be transported back to Spain, and even with the crowding that Spanish are prone to indulge in in the loading of troop ships the Spanish Transatlantic Company cannot provide for the embarkation of troops at the rate of more than 1,000 a day and at this rate it will take four months to accomplish the evacuation. If this evacuation is to be accomplished before the winter is well advanced, other transports than Spain has must be hired.

WITHIN a few days the Spanish authorities in Cuba asserted that their authority in Cuba was unbroken and that their right to levy and collect taxes and regulate duties must be regarded as remaining undisturbed wherever and so long as the Spanish soldiers remain in control. And this claim that their sovereignty in Cuba was not impaired with the signing of the protocol and lapsed in no particular by that act they still assert. On the other hand, the American evacuation commissioners have held that with the signing of the protocol Spanish sovereignty over Cuba ceased and that since that act the Spanish must be regarded as exercising sovereignty with the consent of the American commission and, in a way, amenable to the direction of that commission.

Acting under the assumption that their sovereignty con-

tinued supreme where their troops were in control, the Spanish imposed high duties on food products even when sent by the Red Cross Society for charitable distribution, not for sale. Against the collection of such duties the American commissioners protested. They demanded as of right that such duties should not be imposed. The Spanish in response asserted their unrestrained sovereignty and the right to tax what they saw fit until evacuation actually took place. So came a clash that our commissioners referred to Washington. But threatening to be serious, the Spanish, still asserting their right to collect duties on Red Cross provisions or whatever else they saw fit, solved this clash by acceding to the demands of the American commission while continuing to deny the right of the commission to make such demand. But the result is all the same in that the duties on food that were so high as to virtually prohibit the Red Cross from landing supplies and aiding the suffering have, so far as the Red Cross is concerned, been removed, thus enabling that society to land provisions for the amelioration of suffering, the satiation of hunger, without the payment of duties. So the Red Cross can now succor the helpless and suffering without meeting with Spanish hindrance in the shape of customs duties.

THE giving way of the Spanish authorities in Cuba on this question of the admission of food for the starving has removed the spur that caused the Washington Government to insist with much urgency on the hastening of evacuation. If the starving Cubans could not be succored until the Spanish evacuated, an early evacuation was imperative for humanity's sake, and early evacuation was demanded insistently, so long as it appeared that the starving in Cuba could not be succored until the Spanish evacuated. But when the Spanish acceded to the demand of the American commissioners, removed the duties on provisions sent to Cuba for distribution among the starving and so made it possible to give succor to the helpless in advance of evacuation the bottom cause for extreme urgency in evacuation was removed. And the American evacuation commissioners ceased to be so urgent in demanding an early evacuation, for delay in evacuation no longer means death to the poor and impoverished.

Of course the evacuation of Cuba will proceed as fast as ships are supplied for the transport of the soldiers. And this evacuation will not find us in the same position as it finds us in Puerto Rico. In Puerto Rico we had a large army of conquest, which with Spanish evacuation we could reduce to an army of garrison. But in Cuba there is no such army of conquest, and outside of Santiago province no garrison army. So as the Spanish troops evacuate Cuba American troops must take their place, an army of occupation must be sent to Cuba, and, under pledges given, remain there until a stable government is established.

IT IS not only the remnant of the reconcentrado population of Cuba that is in dire want and need of assistance. Peace has left the Cuban army in dire want, in a starving condition, and this must be remedied or there will be trouble, for hunger drives men to lawless deeds. Though in a starving condition the Cuban army continues to behave well, but there can be no assurance that it will so continue unless we get it out of this condition. Before the declaration of peace the Cuban army lived upon the country, by taking food wherever it could be found. But since peace the Cuban army does not so live, does not live by despoiling friend and foe alike. So the Cuban army is in dire need and subjected to fearful temptation. First, it must be fed, and second, there being no further use for it as an army it must be disbanded so that the men making it up can return to productive work and so support themselves.

But to disband the army, turn the Cuban veterans loose without the means of cultivating the soil and so supporting themselves would be but to sow seeds of brigandage in Cuba

that it would be most difficult to extirpate. General Gomez lays down the wise and true course. He wants some land, a plough, oxen and a little money to be given to each of the Cuban soldiers as they are honorably discharged. Such liberality would pay, for it would make of the soldiers of the Cuban army independent agriculturists quite capable of supporting themselves in comfort. Disband the soldiers without such liberality and no alternative will be open to them save to sell their labor to some sugar planter, for without the tools, the instruments of production, they could not engage in production on their own account. And hence the independent agricultural population that would result from the carrying out of Gomez's plan and that would make the backbone of a stable government would not exist.

Of course if the Cuban soldiers are helped as Gomez asks that they be helped, the United States must make the advance. Cuba can give the land but the tools and instruments of production the United States must provide. But for that outlay the United States can reimburse itself by taxing the Cuban people if that people long continue under our rule or by causing the government of Independent Cuba, when established, to become responsible for the repayment of such advance to the United States. Besides, if we were never to be reimbursed for such outlay, it would pay to make it as a means of establishing order and building foundations upon which to rear a stable state.

THE arrival in this country of Felipe Angoncillo, emissary of General Aguinaldo, has thrown new light upon the aims and hopes of the Filipinos. Their aim is to secure their complete independence of Spain and this is their hope. Of the ability of the Filipinos to establish a republic, if left alone by foreign powers, a big if, and maintain order throughout the islands, Angoncillo expresses himself as having no doubt. To gather the meaning of Angoncillo's words it must be kept in mind that the Philippines are inhabited by several different races of men, of varying degrees of barbarism and civilization and that of all the native races the Filipinos are the most highly civilized. "I have not the slightest doubt" says Angoncillo "that if left alone by foreign powers, the islands would be well and orderly governed," and further that "as to the power of the Filipino government to control the islands and maintain order, provided the Spanish forces are withdrawn, I have no misgivings."

Thus does Angoncillo plead for a Philippine republic. He declares that such republic would grow and prosper if left alone by foreign powers. But as there is no hope of foreign powers leaving such republic alone it is evident that to preserve such a republic we must throw round it our protectorate. To this Filipinos, of course, have no objection, rather would they welcome such protectorate. Nor if we went a little further and annexed the Philippines as self-governing colonies, would the Filipinos seriously object. It is only in the event of our annexing the Philippines and proceeding to rule in a way to despoil them that the Filipinos would resist. And just there they should resist.

IN HIS tour of the army camps General Alger turned up at Jacksonville, Fla., on last Sunday. There he was at luncheon when he became the recipient of some fulsome flattery, of a copy of some resolutions adopted by the Chamber of Commerce and paying him a high tribute. Thereat he was greatly pleased and working himself up into a high state of self admiration he arose to make response, whereupon, in the words of the *Philadelphia Times*, he made a fool of himself. "The War Department and my administration of it," he began, "have been criticised by the sensational and scandal monging papers which have attacked me," which is rather a severe characterization of some of the least sensational papers of the land, such as the *New York Times*

and which have attacked him most bitterly. "To their abuse and slander," he continued, "I have this to say: I apologize to no man for my administration of the War Department. The department has been managed as best it could be under the conditions, and to prove it I point with pride to the fact that the American army has won a great and noble victory, a miraculous victory, one that will go down in history as the most remarkable in the country for speediness of conquest, and an achievement of glory in battle"—as if General Alger was the hero of El Caney and San Juan. Santiago was won not by General Alger, but in spite of his mismanagement and a blundering incompetence on the part of his underlings, the political appointees of himself and the President, that deprived the army of supplies it ought to have had, that actually lost a lot of siege guns intended for Santiago in the hold of a transport, siege guns that have only recently been discovered, so carefully is the record kept, and we may judge with what exactitude and promptness requisitions are honored by a department where all things are at such sixes and sevens that the track of siege guns cannot be kept.

"The newspaper sewerage," choice language, "that is being dumped out against me," continued Mr. Alger, "is not against the Secretary of War. It is against the glorious victory of the American troops, the brave deeds of our men and their achievements, the marvel of the age"—as if attacks on the General Alger who had, by his obstinate refusal to act upon the advice of General Miles, consigned the glorious army of the Santiago campaign to destruction were attacks upon that army, on the noble army that was only saved from destruction by the bold course of its brave commanders in publicly rebuking General Alger and appealing to the country, not without avail, to bring such pressure upon him as would bring him to his senses and cause him to order the movement of the army north, away from the fever infected camps of Santiago where it was perishing.

GENERAL ALGER ended up his Jacksonville tirade in which he took to himself the credit of the army's victories and the marked note of which is self-adulation in these words: "Again, I say that I have no apology to make to any man, and I am ready to answer for my part in the conduct of the war"—answer before the whitewashing board that the President finally succeeded in filling up last week; a task he found most difficult, for men hesitated to serve on a commission charged with making an important investigation, but without power to subpoena witnesses, get at the bottom of things or run out charges and so, for very lack of power to make a thorough investigation, almost sure to be constrained to make a whitewashing report, bring in a general verdict of not guilty, though we know there has been mismanagement, criminal blundering, somewhere, know it by the effects that we see.

ENGLAND is holding on to her gold with great tenacity. Through the Bank of England she is vigorously fighting to prevent any great flow of gold to the United States. And so far her fighting has been crowned with what must be to many prophets on this side of the water much unexpected success. Thus she holds her own in the fight for gold, though she is fighting against adverse trade conditions, against great handicaps. In fighting to hold gold the Bank of England reduced her loans by \$48,000,000 during the eight weeks ending last Saturday and raised the bank rate of discount. But the bank did more fighting than this. She went into the London money markets with consols or British government bonds for collateral and borrowed money. Thus she stiffened money rates, thus she forced a contraction of loans to other people. All this contraction, of course, had the result of obliging men to sell goods and securities that had been pledged as security for the loans called. Of course, this meant a pressing down of prices, and in a general way a check to merchandise im-

ports and stimulus to exports. And this, of course, tended to check the drain of gold in a slight degree.

But the radical check, the check looked for to bring success is ever the calling of loans on American securities and the forced sale of such securities upon the American market. Of course such sale of securities makes exchange, that is creates a credit in New York against which drafts may be drawn and forwarded in place of gold, a draft by letter taking the place of a keg of gold. In this way has the Bank of England been fighting to keep gold. But of late weeks our banks, with their reserves depleted, and in much need of gold to replenish them, have been fighting not to keep gold but bring gold from Europe. Thus did the New York banks contract their loans by \$30,000,000 during the same eight weeks that the Bank of England contracted hers by \$48,000,000. The result of the contraction of loans in New York was to take away the sustaining power behind many securities. Of course prices were pressed down. But pressed down as they were the Bank of England resolved to force British holders of such securities to sacrifice them rather than part with her own gold. And this pressing of British holdings on our markets caused a still further pressing down of prices. It necessitated the making of great sacrifices by British investors, but those sacrifices were made and thereby England saved her gold.

THAT which surprises some people is that Great Britain can always fall back upon a sale of foreign securities at a pinch, export mail bags of securities rather than kegs of gold. But considering that she is the great creditor nation of the world to the extent of about \$750,000,000 a year, which represents a principal of somewhere between fifteen and twenty billions of dollars due her creditor classes by the debtor countries of the world, the fact above remarked is not surprising at all. Last year, for example, the imports into the United Kingdom were valued at £391,405,006, her exports, £234,350,003, an adverse trade balance of £157,000,000, or about \$785,000,000. But though she thus bought £157,000,000 of merchandise more than she sold her imports and exports of gold balanced within £287. The greater part of this seeming adverse trade balance of £157,000,000 was balanced off by the interest accruing on loans made abroad and the sums earned by British ships.

The adverse trade balance for this year promises to be greater. During the first seven months of the present year the United Kingdom exported £132,598,057 worth of merchandise, imported £234,787,949, an adverse balance of £102,000,000, \$500,000,000 for seven months. And yet England gained six millions of gold during this period, by the exercise of ways we have noted.

LAST year and the present have been great years for the paying off of farm mortgages. Tens of millions of mortgages have been cancelled. The story as it is told is a very cheerful one. Funny the New England Loan and Trust Company, of Des Moines, Iowa, a loan company that has placed some \$5,000,000 of bonds in Boston, New York and Philadelphia, secured by farm mortgages, did not share in this farm mortgage boom. That it did not is evidenced from the fact that it has just succumbed as nearly all the similar loan companies have succumbed in the last few years, because of the non-payment of interest and principal of farm mortgages. Last year and the present have indeed been great years for the paying off of farm mortgages—by foreclosure sale.

COTTON is lower in price than at any time since the Civil War. Cause said to be big crop and overproduction. But here is a little pointer that points in the other direction: Northern spinners have thus far taken 41,841 bales of the new crop, against 110,871 bales taken up to this time last year. Has not underconsumption, a picayune demand had something to do with the fall in price?

COLONEL ROOSEVELT has been nominated by the New York State Republican Convention for Governor, as was expected. His nomination was slated. He goes before the people of New York as a machine candidate, the obedient servant of Boss Thomas E. Platt. If elected he will be a machine Governor, his mouth sealed at Platt's dictation, opened at Platt's command. At least we think he will, judging from his subserviency before the convention. And then as Governor there will be an ambition to keep him loyal to Platt, the ambition to be Platt's candidate for President of the United States as he is now Platt's candidate for Governor. If elected Governor he will, in the logical order of events, be New York's, that is Platt's choice for President in 1900, he will be the logical candidate in 1900 upon whom to centre the opposition in the Republican party to Mr. McKinley and upon whom will fall the mantle, not improbably, if Mr. McKinley goes down in defeat.

But will Roosevelt be elected Governor? That is the first question, and it is a riddle that neither Republicans nor Democrats can solve to their satisfaction. Last year a gold Democrat carried the state for Superior Judge by 61,000 plurality, but he would have suffered defeat if it had not been for the split-up mayoralty canvass in Greater New York that scattered the Republican vote. The vote for his opponent above the Harlem river was such as would, under ordinary conditions, have served to elect him by from 20,000 to 30,000 votes. So the last election, if it shows anything, shows the state to be nip and tuck.

OUR PATH IN CHINA AND THE PHILIPPINES.

THE sleeping giant of the East, giant in size, in undeveloped capabilities, in uncontrolled resources, pigmy in power, in energy; pigmy because its body is unwarmed by the beatings of a corrupt heart, because its extremities are irresponsive to the movements of the head, turns in its slumbers. Like the giant who has lost control of his limbs, is paralyzed, powerless, but needs only the restoration of health to his diseased nervous system, the re-establishment of communication between head and extremities that the pulsations of the brain may be transmitted to the limbs and their movements be again controlled by the brain so that all the parts of the giant body may again work in harmony—needs only this to regain his power and display his giant strength, so rests China, slumbering, inert, powerless; cuffed, despoiled by the Powers of Europe and powerless to resist their aggressions, a giant in size and wealth, yet a mere pigmy in power, but only needing the establishment of prompt means of communication between the different parts of the empire by which information may be transmitted and goods transported to restore the harmonious working of the whole empire in the promotion of common ends, the direction of its energies in the development of its resources and to give power and strength to the now enervated giant that it may exert in such a way that no Power of Europe, be it ever so great, will dare to cuff and despoil her with impunity.

Such is the China of to-day. Will she reawaken as an empire, as a nation, or will she reawaken as a dependency of foreign peoples; awaken for the profit, the benefit of her own people, her own greatness, or be awakened for the profit of foreigners, awakened by foreign guns and force, that foreigners may despoil her people, build fortunes and power upon her belittling, upon the yoke of dependence placed upon the necks of her people? Such is the question that confronts China. It may well be that the yoke of dependence that foreign peoples would put upon the Chinese would be less grievous than the yoke they now bear, that the Chinese might be no worse off wearing that yoke and despoiled for the profit of foreign peoples than they are now, that they might grow richer while paying foreign tribute. But if China awakens wearing this yoke of dependence, her people will not profit as they

should from the awakening, from the development of her resources and the increased productiveness of labor that will come, for that profit will be garnered by alien hands, garnered to be spent in foreign lands, and thus Chinese slave that a favored few in some foreign lands may live lives of indolent ease.

We said favored few, but we doubt if those who were thus enriched would be really favored. Rather would they and their country be cursed by such wealth, for revelling in such gains they would be enervated, the stimulus to productive enterprise would lapse, there would come an enervating of happiness to the few possessors of the wealth, an ennui that means moral turpitude and decay, while from the consequent withdrawal of energies from the organizing and directing of enterprises, the captaining of industry, production would lag, and idleness and poverty come to the many. Thus wealth drawn from China, drawn by despoiling a people and enjoyed by the few would be found to be purchased at the cost of less wealth produced at home to the loss of the many who had produced it. And so would come national decrepitude and weakness; from moral turpitude and inertia born of the possession of unearned gains at the top and from degradation born of poverty at the bottom.

Yet it is such wealth that nations are prone to pursue. They now seek feverishly to draw it from China. They forsake that which is real for that which glitters, wealth produced by their own toil and honestly come by for the wealth produced by others' labor, that they may take by the strong hand, rob—so strong is the temptation to garner what others have sown. Let us, at least, resist this temptation for we cannot succumb and escape merited punishment for the breaking of the laws of right. Let us encourage China to awaken in such a way that her own people will derive advantage, be enriched, uplifted in the scale of civilization. Let us encourage even though European nations, seeking the opportunity to despoil, may discourage. It is to our own advantage as well as hers.

China is now in the throes of revolution—at the top—a revolution in which the multitude have no part, of which they know not, but a revolution that means much for the multitude, means the awakening of the Chinese empire in a way in which the advantages of that awakening will accrue to the multitude or be taken from that multitude and given to foreign exploiters of China's riches and China's people; it means the awakening of China as a great nation, an awakening for the happiness of her people or an awakening with the yoke of dependency resting upon her people from whom will be exacted a tribute for the profit of alien peoples. The Chinese giant turns in his sleep of centuries and must awaken for the activity and energy of foreign peoples in pressing upon the sleeping giant's domain, in grasping at his wealth, prohibits further slumbering. The giant must awaken, must awaken himself or be awakened; must awaken, develop and exert his energies and power for his own defense or he will be awakened to find himself dismembered, the prey of his despoilers, or to find himself so tied, entrained in the meshes of his would be despoilers that he can only move and exert his power in a way that will aggrandize and enrich such despoilers and so entrained that these despoilers can spur him into activity with impunity and force him to exert his power and work for their profit not his own.

China cannot longer continue to slumber. The pressure from outside will not permit. The great riches of China, riches for the most part unused and undeveloped, have come to the knowledge of the world and those riches tempt mankind. And the despoilers among mankind will enter China, develop these riches, set the Chinese to work in developing such riches, make Chinese labor more productive, and carry off that increased productiveness—if they can. And they can, unless China makes herself thus powerful enough to resist and China can alone make herself thus powerful by developing her resources, by using her riches, by establishing ways of communication that will bring

the parts of her great empire into closer relations. In short, China must wake up to save herself from despoilment or she will be awakened to find herself in the grasp of the despoilers. She cannot slumber longer.

Within a few weeks the Chinese Emperor asserted his authority, decreed certain reforms in keeping with the spirit of an enlightened age, and received with acclaim by a watchful world, but showed a disposition to hand over the development of China, of her great resources and capabilities to foreign syndicates seeking concessions and aiming to develop China not with a view to China's profit but with a view to despoiling China for their own. Thereupon the Chinese party, a party aiming not to hinder the development of China along western lines, but to promote such development in a way that the profits, the advantages, will accrue to China and Chinese and not to foreign syndicates; a party not of retrogression, not of stagnation, but of progress, arose in its might in the path of the Emperor and his advisers working under the influence and in the interest of foreign syndicates, drove such advisers from power, indeed, drove them into banishment, to seek refuge in the foreign concession of Shanghai, beyond the reach of Chinese jurisdiction, and virtually dethroned the Emperor, reinstating in power the Empress Dowager, not the Emperor's mother, but one of his many aunts, a woman of masculine mind who had ruled over China not only during his minority, but that of her own son, the previous Emperor.

So the turn of the wheel has put the Chinese party on top once more at Peking. The revolution seems to have been complete; backed perhaps by Russian intrigue and promise of Russian support. At any rate the British, seeking the opportunity to develop and open China on the other lines, feel baffled and discomfited. They feel as if the turn of the wheel at Peking had closed the way to Chinese development, reconsigned China to the slumber of the grave. And in their own disappointment the future of China doubtless looks black to them. But the reinstatement of the Chinese party is not to be regarded as setting back the development of the resources of China and the vitalizing of her nascent powers, a vitalizing that the building of railroads and modern factories and the harnessing of the forces of nature to do man's bidding cannot fail to bring. On the contrary the ascendancy of the Chinese party is to be regarded as hastening the developing of China in a way that will insure to Chinese the profits of the development. It is only the development of China in such manner that the profits would accrue to foreigners and not to Chinese that the ascendancy of this party hinders. The healthful development of China, the development of China in that way to make her great and powerful and her people prosperous and happier it does not hinder at all. Rather it encourages that development by closing development by other paths.

The great curse of China is the corruption in government. Money buys place, position, power; money buys office and the right to tax, despoil the multitude. And so it is that the multitude pursuing honest vocations are ground down and kept impoverished while the unscrupulous and corrupt grow rich. The taxes, all save the customs which are collected under British supervision, are collected with devitalizing looseness and inequality. The internal revenues are raised by requisitions made upon those mandarins who may buy the privilege of taxing, and these mandarins are practically left free to use their discretion in taxing the people, which means that they tax from the multitude all that they can. How they raise the money to meet the requisitions made upon them Peking does not inquire. How much more they may raise by taxation than sufficient to meet such requisitions is not the affair of Peking. It is because of the great surpluse that can be and is raised in excess of the requisitions and that the mandarins as tax collectors keep for their own that such mandarins can afford to pay so highly at Peking for the positions that carry with them the right to tax.

One of the reforms decreed by the Emperor was that an accounting of the taxes collected should be rendered and published by all mandarins. This would have uncovered what part of the taxation was for government use, what part for the mandarin pocket and was aimed to put an end to the ruthless despoiling of the people through the loose system of taxation now in vogue and the power of taxation now in the hands of the mandarins. Naturally such decree was popular neither with tax collecting mandarin or Pekin councillor selling to mandarins such unrestrained power to tax and despoil, and it would be folly to deny that the antagonism to such decree did much to concentrate the opposition to the Emperor's rule that ended in his virtual abdication to the Empress Dowager, the downfall of those councillors so steeped in corruption at the hands of the foreign syndicates that they thought more of the interests of such syndicates than of the Chinese people and the ascendancy of the Chinese party.

The despoiling of the multitude through the corrupt system of taxation in vogue destroys the incentive to enterprise and devitalizes the Chinese people. It deadens their enterprise, drives them into a stolid indifference to their surroundings. Men who are so burdened that they profit not from any increased productiveness of labor such as comes with the throwing of brain as well as muscle into production, comes from the invention of labor-saving machinery and the economizing of labor, of force, have no incentive to exercise their brain and exhaust themselves with thought as to how they may increase the productiveness of their labor. Profiting not from such increased productiveness, without hope of recompense for laboring with their brain, they have no incentive to do other than plod on in old channels and as a consequence progress is halted. Why should they worry over increasing the productiveness of their labor when any gain will be reaped by some other, what spur have they to greater enterprise when they profit not from their increased industry?

It is in this position that the Chinese workman has been for centuries. The foundation of enterprise, the equitable distribution of wealth that men may enjoy the fruits of their own toil and be benefited when they increase those fruits through increased application of brain and muscle to their work; this foundation of progress, of advancement in industrial methods and in state, this foundation of enterprise such as leads to the accumulation of wealth, increased command over the forces of nature, and so a higher civilization has been absent in China, absent for years that are countless, and so has China stagnated, slumbered for centuries, her civilization stood still.

So long has this state continued that the Chinese have become quite indifferent to their fate. So long despoiled, they care little about change in government that to them means only change of despoilers. Despoiled as far back as memory runs of the surplus products of their toil, they look upon the encroachments of European powers with the view to their despoilment with utter indifference. Corruption has so chilled their patriotism, so long have they been accustomed to look upon government as an instrument for their despoilment that they raise no hand to uphold that government or defend the integrity of the empire when assailed by foreign powers. Thus have the Russians been permitted to encroach on the north and the French on the south, thus have the Russians been enabled to establish themselves at Port Arthur, the English at Wei Hai Wei, the Germans at Kiao Chou without meeting any resistance. And as ex-Minister Denby, recently returned from China, says: "We could step in and take a slice of China if we chose. We could seize a port and the territory adjacent to it, and China would simply look on in amazement. But it would be a violation of our friendship with her and an indefensible act," and so not to be thought of by an upright and justice loving people, and a justice loving people we trust we are.

Thus have Russians encroached upon China in furtherance

of their plan of gaining national greatness and power by bringing the peoples of Asia under their domination to do their bidding, thus have British and Germans and French taken possession of Chinese territory as an entering wedge to open up paths by which their people, or rather a few of their people, may aggrandize themselves by despoiling the Chinese, by despoiling them not so much of that which they have but of that which they may produce in the future under European direction. Under such direction the productiveness of the labor of the Chinese people can be vastly increased, and it is of the fruits of such increased productiveness that the foreign despoilers aim to deprive the Chinese people. And under the plea that the Chinese people would be better off under European tutelage, even though despoiled, than they are now, European rule to the end of despoiling them is urged and defended.

This is a common British defense of aggressions made upon weaker peoples. They are taxed for British profit, aggrandizement, but this tax they well can pay for the increased productiveness of their labor coming with British rule and direction exceeds such tax. And so they are benefited even though despoiled, and why should not those who confer great benefit be recompensed for their work? In justice they are entitled to exact payment for the benefit they confer. Such is the argument by which those who would despoil weaker peoples, despoil the Chinese, defend their course. But it is the argument that one has a right to enslave his fellow-man if the material well being of the enslaved man is promoted. Thus has slavery been defended in the past, defended on moral grounds, defended from the pulpit, defended as benefiting the slave even while it enriches the master.

And so are aggressions upon China with the view to the despoilment of her people defended. But if China were not defenseless those who await the opportunity to enter China, develop her resources, increase the productiveness of her labor and then take that increased productiveness of labor for their own would gladly lend to China that enterprise, special knowledge and organizing ability needed to develop her resources, harness the forces of nature in modern manufacturing plants, direct Chinese labor in a way to add greatly to its productiveness and do this for a tithe of the sum they now hope to exact, leaving the greater part of the increased wealth produced to be enjoyed by the Chinese and so lift them higher and pave the way for them to lift themselves still higher in the scale of civilization.

And what right have nations to forcibly develop China's resources after a manner which will enable them to gather unto themselves the greater part of the increased productiveness of labor resulting from such development and organization of industry? What right have they thus to take advantage of China's helplessness to despoil, what right to take advantage of China's weakness to charge many fold more for the direction needed to develop her resources than they would gladly offer to give such direction, such services for if China were powerful? If China were strong enough to resist the aggressions of foreign powers, strong enough to successfully oppose the forcible opening up of opportunities for the despoilment of her people, men of western training would gladly go into China, supervise the development of the country along western lines and direct the energies of the Chinese in a way to greatly increase the productiveness of their labor for a tithe of the sum they now hope to exact. What right have such men to exact more than this because China is not strong, because China, unable to resist, must submit to their exactions? None save the right of the strong hand, the right of might, the right of the strong to despoil the weak. And this is not a right that a liberty loving people can recognize. It is the law of monarchies, not of republics.

Though holding a high sense of moral responsibility in dealings with one's own people, a feeling of obligation to deal justly and squarely and according to the canons of right, men

are disposed to disregard such obligations, and put aside such responsibility as not binding in their treatment of what they are pleased to regard as inferior peoples. Indeed it is to see that the canons of right are observed in the dealings of a people, in the dealings of the strong with the weak, to see that the strong do not substitute a rule of might for one of right that just governments are established. Yet governments in their relations with foreign peoples are prone to disregard this very rule of justice to which they command their own citizens to give observance in their relations with one another, and establish the rule of might for their guidance in place of the rule of right. Thus do nations demand of their own citizens what they do not themselves live up to, so that it often seems that there is one rule for individuals and another for nations.

So it is that surrounded by nations that conduct themselves by the rule of might and not of right in their dealings with weaker nations China is face to face with despoilment. There will be development in China, development of her resources, establishment of ways and means of communication, yes, for it is by so developing China and increasing the production of wealth that the profits of despoilment can be made greatest. Indeed it is these profits, the profits of development that the despoilers long for. It is not their hope to despoil China as it now is. It is their hope to so direct the labors of the people that the productiveness of their labor will be greatly increased and in such manner, under such checks that the increased productiveness will be gathered not by the Chinese but their despoilers.

To increase the productiveness of labor they have but to organize labor for the creation and then the running of industrial plants after the labor saving and economical methods installed in the western world; they have but to organize labor for the opening of coal and iron mines, for the building of furnaces and steel mills, for the building of railroads that the gathering of the raw materials of manufacture and the distributing of the products can be accomplished with the expenditure of little labor and at little cost. In this way can the labor be made more productive, can the production of wealth in China be doubled or more in a decade. And to so tie up, so burden the Chinese that this increased productiveness of labor will benefit the foreign exploiters, necessitates the resort to no novel means. It necessitates only the application of methods pursued elsewhere, methods of overcapitalizing railroads and industrial plants, the spreading of the watered securities carrying the control of the properties around among the exploiters and the giving of bonds to those Chinese or foreigners who may supply the actual capital needed to gain a start; to the Chinese who may advance gold to buy in Europe and America machinery with which to open mines and establish mills, buy rails and rolling stock to put the first roads in operation, or to the Europeans who may supply such machinery, such rails, such supplies as will put the Chinese in position to supply themselves, make their own machinery, own steel rails. Then, by a very simple process, the management of the railroads and industries so as to earn dividends upon the watered stocks, dividends equal to the increased wealth produced and the drawing away of such dividends to Europe, can China and the Chinese people be stripped of the benefits, the profits, the increased production of wealth coming with the development of her resources and the placing of modern tools and instruments of production in the hands of her people.

To escape this despoilment, this making of her people drawers of water and hewers of wood for the profit of others, China has but one path to pursue and that is the path aimed at by the Chinese party now in control. She must turn down the offers of foreign syndicates, refuse them the concessions that would enable them to develop China and carry off the profits, leaving the Chinese no better off than now. She must meet and resist the aggressions of foreign nations, aggressions made with the view of opening opportunities by which the Chinese may be despoiled

that the influential and favored few in foreign lands may be enriched. And to resist such aggressions China must gather her strength together, must shake off her lethargy, must develop her resources and gather the nascent power of which other peoples seek to avail for their own profit, gather it for her own use and profit. And this is no slight task for a people that has been cast into a lethargic sleep by corruption in government such as we have described, corruption that has led to the despoilment of the multitude until the incentive to enterprises has been destroyed and the country been cast into a lethargic sleep.

But corrupt as are the governing circles in China the commercial honor of the merchants is unequalled upon the globe. The word of a Chinese merchant is as good as his bond. A bargain once made he keeps with the utmost good faith. No quibble does he seek to back out of a contract, he lives up to the spirit of a bargain, keeps a verbal contract with the same sacredness as a written bond.

So strict is he in all his commercial dealings that the scrupulous exactitude with which he keeps his bargains is proverbial throughout the East. The name of the Chinese merchant is a synonym of honor. And in this lies the hope of China, the opportunity of China to escape the dangers that confront her.

That hope is the development of China by Americans and Europeans in conjunction with the Chinese, a development the profits of which will not merely accrue to the foreigner but enrich and aggrandize China. While refusing to permit development in a way that means despoilment she must invite development in a way that means enrichment. And the reinstatement of the Chinese party is an earnest of this, an earnest that the foreigner, the American, the European of energy and ability and willing to cast in his lot with China, grow up with China, will be invited into China to work in conjunction with Chinese for the development of China's resources and wealth producing capabilities. And here the reputation of the Chinese merchant for probity and honesty will stand China in good stead for because of it Americans and Europeans will be attracted toward alliances with such Chinamen rather than be repelled.

Capital in China for China's development is not wanting. What is wanting is the energy, the enterprise, the skill that can successfully direct the building and operating of railroads and great industrial plants. It is this skill and energy that China wants, it is this skill and energy that she must gain before her own capital will become available for her own development, for the investment of that capital awaits the assurance of turning out remuneratively that such skill and energy alone can give. So the opportunities for Americans and Europeans to enter into partnership with Chinese for the development of China are great. They must have enterprise and skill, they must command capital that they may put into the partnership as an earnest of their good faith, as an assurance of their own faith in their own ability. With such assurance they can command Chinese capital and as they build up China build up their own fortunes.

It is development in this way that will save China, enrich and benefit her people, lead them on to a higher civilization. It is development in this way that those who look upon China as a fit subject for despoilment oppose. It is development in China along these lines that we should encourage.

It is urged that we want to extend our trade and that the way to extend our trade is to push it at the cannon's mouth as England and Germany and France are doing. But trade cannot be built upon a basis of robbery. To be profitable and lasting trade must be mutually advantageous, and this means that trade between distant countries must consist in the export by one country of those products that can be produced at less expenditure of labor, and hence more advantageously, than in the other country, and the import of such products as can only be produced at greater expenditure of labor or cannot be produced at all. Such trade will be lasting, for it will be profitable and mutually so,

both buyer and seller profiting from the exchange. But trade in products that can be produced at the same labor cost in both countries is unnatural, and amounts to sheer waste, a waste of the labor and capital employed in effecting the exchange of such products. And such trade it is not to our interest to force. By such trade we may grow poor, may hinder our own development and the accumulation of wealth, we cannot grow rich. And so to look to China that can produce cotton in unlimited quantities at as small a labor cost as we can, look to China for a lasting market for our cottons is folly. And to look to China with her vast pasturages, to the China that can produce wool as cheaply as we can, for a market for our woolsens, or to China with her unsurpassed deposits of coal and iron, and in such close proximity that the labor cost of producing iron and steel must be as small as anywhere in the world, to this China for a lasting market for our iron and steel and machinery is equally absurd.

It is possible that a country may have natural resources that if developed would enable it to produce some article at as small a labor cost as any other country can, but that may have some great advantage in the production of some other article for which she may find a ready market for all her people can produce, and then it will be to the advantage of that nation to produce such product and exchange it for the products of other peoples that she wants, products that she could produce at just as small a labor cost as they, but of which she can obtain more by the process of exchange, the producing of a product in the production of which she has a distinct advantage and its exchange for goods in the production of which she has no advantage, than she could if she undertook to make for herself those goods which she could produce on a plane of equality with others. But it is quite impossible that a country of the vast extent and resources and productive capacity of China should find herself in such position.

As we are urged to follow the Powers of Europe in making aggressions upon China so we are urged to annex the Philippines in the name of trade, not only of trade with those islands but with the whole Orient. But, as we have said, trade must be mutually advantageous to be profitable, and profitable trade is the only sort we want. And such trade being natural will naturally develop unless development is prevented by artificial restrictions. Of course, trade may bring profit when it is nothing more than a one-sided robbery, a despoilment of a people, but profits so gained will bring such a train of evils in their wake, evils that will destroy enterprise and retard the production of wealth at home that they are not to be welcomed. From such profits individuals may profit, if we measure profit by the mere gathering of wealth, but nations cannot.

Artificial restrictions may interfere with the healthful development of trade and it is asserted that it is with such restrictions likely to be raised by Germany and France and Russia, if they gain control in China, that our trade is threatened in the east and that to protect our trade in that quarter we should join hands with England to interfere in China. But England interferes in China with a view to opening opportunities for the despoilment of the Chinese people, and as we have already shown the way to keep China out of the power, the grasp of foreign nations, of Germany, or France, or England is to encourage the development of the resources of China in a way that will preserve the profits, the benefits to China, and make her so rich and powerful that she can resist foreign aggressions by whomsoever made, maintain her independence, and so keep Germany or France or any other country from getting any special trade advantages.

Such should be our policy towards China, a policy resting on right not on might, a policy recognizing that the short way to greatness and wealth is not the despoiling of other peoples. And on the same principles should we rest our conduct toward the Philippines. We cannot afford to take those islands to despoil them. To do so would not improbably lead to the bathing of the

islands in blood, to the waging of an unjust war upon the Filipinos and our great loss in a material sense, even after the Filipinos were crushed underfoot, for the despoiling of such people would but distract energy to the Philippines that would otherwise be exerted in the United States, would but lead to the producing of less wealth by our own people, as we drew more wealth from the Philippines, and the gathering of the surplus wealth of the Philippines by the favored few in America could not but strengthen the moneyed oligarchy and undermine the foundations of our republic.

Our true course, as in China, is to encourage the development of the Philippines not to the end of their despoilment, but so that the people will derive the benefit and arise to a higher civilization. The establishment of a free government in the Philippines, a government existing by and with the consent of the people of those islands should be our aim. Of course we are mindful of the assertions that the Filipinos are not fitted for self government. But, if unfitted, how can they ever learn if we do not give them the chance? How can a people progress and develop their own capabilities if you keep them in leading strings?

So far as we may assume obligations in the Philippines let our motto be take the Philippines not for ourselves, but to make them free and independent, the Filipinos a happier and better people.

THE GOLD DEMOCRACY'S TRIUMPH IN CONNECTICUT.

ON WEDNESDAY of last week the Democratic State Convention of Connecticut declared squarely for gold. The gold Democrats showed a readiness to hedge about the money question and make an equivocal declaration that could be accepted by the silver Democrats as an endorsement of the free silver coinage policy and by the gold Democrats as a condemnation of that policy. But the silver Democrats in the convention wanted and demanded an explicit declaration reaffirming the Chicago platform and so forced the convention to go beyond the compromise resolution drawn up by the leaders of the gold wing and squarely meet the issue. The result was the discomfiture of the silver Democrats and the complete triumph of the gold Democracy in Connecticut. So the Democracy in Connecticut stands forth explicitly as a gold party in this campaign. The gold Democrats would have been satisfied to have had it stand forth as a party without a financial policy, but the silver Democrats would not have it so, would not accept the proffered compromise with the result that the Chicago platform was repudiated by a direct vote had upon the question of its affirmation. And so there is no longer question as to what wing of the party is in control in Connecticut.

The gold press promptly proclaimed the outcome of this Connecticut fight as a gold victory, and the Associated Press reported it as such. But such an unenviable reputation has the metropolitan press gained for itself as the purveyor of news affecting the fortunes, and so the hopes and spirits of those opposed to the preservation of the gold standard, that the reports were not accepted as conclusive by a large part of our people, but rather with the feeling that they were colored, colored so as to make a gold victory out of a drawn battle. And this feeling was intensified by the strenuous efforts of a part of the silver Democratic press to make it appear that the gold Democracy had not triumphed in Connecticut; that the Democratic convention had, on the contrary, distinctly gone on record in opposition to gold monometallism and in favor of bimetalism. And so the convention did, and if it had not been for the demand of the silver Democrats for a square up-and-down affirmation of the Chicago platform and the voting down of that demand, we might have been left in doubt as to just where the Democracy of Connecticut

stood, which is just where the men who drew up the platform meant we should have stood. But as it is, we know what is meant by the "bimetallism as enunciated by Jefferson" and favored by the convention. We know that those who put this declaration in the platform meant by bimetallism what John Sherman and other Republicans inconvenienced by past records have of late declared bimetallism to be, namely, the free coinage of gold and the use of silver as subsidiary and token coin, just as we now use it. That is to say, we have now bimetallism, and under such definition opposition to monometallism can be safely affirmed by those who generally pass for gold monometallists.

The misapprehension that for reasons given has gathered round the outcome of the struggle in the Connecticut convention is such that it is needful to clear it up a bit. The silver Democrats were in control of the party organization in Connecticut, and in issuing the call for the state convention they undertook to read all gold Democrats out of the party. In that call it was explicitly declared that no gold Democrat, no man who would not subscribe to the Chicago platform, should be considered as eligible to a seat in the convention. The silver wing thus ensconced with the power of the state organization and the gold Democrats treated as outcasts from the party, the early unseating of the silver wing and the placing of the gold wing in the saddle was not expected. And so the action of the Connecticut Democrats and the capture of the party by the gold men came in the nature of a disagreeable surprise to the great majority of silver Democrats the country over.

It is of interest to take note of the efforts of the State Committee to keep the names of gold men off the lists of enrolled delegates on the ground that a believer in the gold standard is not a Democrat and therefore not entitled to sit in a Democratic convention. But the gold men simply ignored this attempted distinction and took their seats in the convention despite all the efforts to exclude them. This effort and its futile ending is of special interest for the reason that many silver Democratic leaders in the national arena take the same ground and threaten to exclude all gold delegates from the National Convention in 1900. Thus has Ex-Governor Stone, of Missouri, threatened. He sought to use this threat as a bludgeon to beat New York Democrats into reaffirming the Chicago platform at their State convention. He went so far as to say that if the New York Democracy went back on the Chicago platform the delegates that that Democracy might choose to represent it at the next national Democratic convention would find the doors of the convention closed against them and opened to delegates selected by the silver wing of the party should it perfect an organization as an independent party and choose delegates to such convention. But these threats did not serve to turn New York Democrats from their purpose of shelving the Chicago platform, as such Democrats have just taken occasion to make abundantly clear.

Nor is it at all certain that the silver Democrats will or can if they would, live up to their threats to exclude gold men from the convention of 1900. It is not improbable that such threats of exclusion will collapse as in Connecticut, and gold men find entrance into the next national Democratic convention in great force, a greater force than in 1896. And if by any chance they are excluded, it will lead to a split of the Democratic party there and then, such as will destroy all chance of Democratic success. It is not at all improbable that the Connecticut convention will find its parallel on a broader sphere in 1900. In the national convention the story of the Connecticut convention may be repeated. It starts out in the same way with threats to exclude gold Democrats, it may end in the same way with their admission and control of the convention.

As we have said the state organization of the Democratic party of Connecticut was in the hands of the silver wing. Consequently the convention was organized with a silver Democrat as temporary Chairman, who in his address strove to keep the

convention turned in the direction of silver. But the convention was beyond the control of the silver Democrats. Mr. E. C. Benedict, a New York banker, upon whose yacht Mr. Cleveland spent many hours when president, had the convention in control. By quiet but hard work he had secured the selection of a majority of the delegates to the convention of his way of thinking. Gold was supreme in the convention, it was supreme in the Committee on Platform; return of the party to its moorings of 1896 was the spirit pervading the very atmosphere. But to prevent an explosion of wrath on the part of the outnumbered silver delegates, to let those delegates drop back into old lines with as little jar as possible, the gold forces offered a compromise in the shape of an equivocal declaration on the monetary question, capable of interpretation satisfactory to gold and silver men alike and that would have relegated the silver question to the rear in the campaign as an issue that had had its day. This resolution proffered to the convention in the majority report of the committee on platform, read as follows:

Resolved, That the Democracy of Connecticut is now, as it ever has been, in favor of bimetallism as enunciated by Jefferson, affording, as it does, the most stable standard of value, and we declare ourselves unalterably opposed to monometallism of any kind.

Now, if unexplained by later acts of the convention this resolution might, as we have said, been understood to have meant most anything. "Bimetallism as enunciated by Jefferson" means genuine bimetallism to silver Democrats, it means a metallic currency such as we now have to gold Democrats. As a bimetalist believing in the free coinage of both gold and silver as demanded in the Chicago platform, Jefferson has been quoted by the supporters of that platform while the gold democrats have vehemently defended his reputation against what they call the blackening imputation that he would favor the coining of 50 cents worth of silver into a dollar. Jefferson, say these gold men, was no fraud, no abettor of dishonesty and they resent the reference of the silver Democrats to him as a Democratic worthy who believed in the policy of free silver coinage as advocated in 1896. Into argument as to the unwarrantable assumptions of the gold men upon which they rest their assertion that the charge of Jefferson with being a Chicago platform Democrat is a foul accusation it is not the place to enter here. We only have occasion to remark that Jeffersonian bimetallism means one thing to silver Democrats, another to gold.

Then we come to the final declaration of unalterable opposition to monometallism of any kind. Now silver Democrats, holding that so long as the mints are closed to free silver coinage we have gold monometallism, might regard this as a declaration of unalterable opposition to keeping those mints closed. On the other hand, gold Democrats, believing that the opening of the mints would lead to silver monometallism, might reasonably regard the above as a declaration of unalterable opposition to the reopening of the mints.

So everybody might have accepted this resolution and gone home satisfied. But the silver Democrats were not ready to accept such a milk and water resolution as a declaration of their faith. A minority report was presented from the Committee on Platform to the convention, declaring that

"The Democracy of Connecticut, in convention assembled, hereby reaffirm the platform of principles of the last National Democratic convention, adopted July 9, 1896."

With the presentation of this report a four hours' bitter fight was precipitated. Finally the question was put on a motion to substitute the minority for the majority report and lost by a vote of 158 to 141. Thus the convention by voting down an affirmation of the Chicago platform, and the free silver coinage policy squarely went on record by negation against such policy, gave expression to the interpretation to be placed on the resolution

written into the platform to be equivocal, but that the convention refused to so accept and thus the Democracy of Connecticut, the silver forces unseated, stands forth squarely for gold.

A GEORGIAN ON OVERPRODUCTION.

A SUBSCRIBER from the sunny Southland sending us the value of some pounds of cotton—and it now takes twenty pounds and over to pay for THE AMERICAN for a year, though we meet the fall in cotton by cutting the price in half to such sorely struggling producers—writes us thusly in a post-script on the evils that beset his fellow-men. His epigrammatic production, though not intended for publication, is full worthy of preservation, and so liberties we take:

Southern farmers rapidly nearing bankruptcy, price of cotton way below the cost of production, with a crop five millions of bales short of the requirements of the world (to properly clothe the backs of those who now perforce go in rags and patches); what is the matter up the creek? The gold standard elements say it is because we have worked too hard and made too much to eat and wear. To succeed as a farmer means bankruptcy: starving with our cribs full is the trouble.—L. T. Lee, Zenith, Ga.

PEOPLES PARTY NOTES.

Populism in Utah. THE present seems to be a bad year for fusion in Utah. The Democrats started off by refusing to fuse with the silver Republicans on a basis of returning Frank J. Cannon to the United States Senate, or, for that matter, on any other basis. They judged they could carry the election without outside help and so, Democrat like, resolved to keep all the spoils to themselves. They did not recognize Senator Cannon as having any claim upon their gratitude for past assistance and they did not stop to consider what effect the throwing over of Senator Cannon would have on the chances of the Democratic party nationally, greatly to the disgust of certain Democratic leaders in the national arena. And now the Populists have refused to fuse with the Democratic party and resolved to run an independent ticket. This the Populists resolved to do in state convention assembled at Salt Lake City on September 15th. They adopted a platform demanding the establishment of the system of direct legislation and the imperative mandate in government "that the people may rule and that a notoriously corrupt representative may be recalled by his constituency." The platform further demands that the mints be reopened to free silver coinage; "that the money of this country be speedily increased by the issue of full legal tender notes to an amount sufficient to transact the business of the country upon a cash basis;" that postal savings banks be established; that the railroads, telegraphs and telephones be nationalized; that the holding of land out of use for speculative purposes be discouraged. Such is the part of the platform referring to national affairs. The platform further demands municipal ownership of all street railways, light plants and water works, and that homesteads be exempted, to the value of \$1,500, from execution, mortgage and taxation.

Upon this platform Hon. Warren Foster, of Salt Lake, was nominated for Congress, and Judge J. M. Bowman, of the same place, for Supreme Judge.

"It is to be sincerely hoped that there will be no bitterness resulting from the action taken at Cincinnati. Both of the candidates are good Populists and good men.

W. S. Morgan
on the Cin-
cinnati Con-
vention.

While I believe they are acting unwisely, I do not doubt the honesty of their intentions or purity of their motives. Not only they but the men who nominated them are inspired with patriotic and unselfish motives. They, no doubt, did what they thought was the best. If time proves that they were mistaken they will fall in line and march with the procession. If it should appear that they did the wise thing the procession will doubtless fall in line with them. It, therefore, behooves us to keep on good terms, for the future will need us all in one united effort. As it is, I see no reason why the work of education should not go on, not forgetting, however, that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," and that the men who essay to lead us are simply elected for the purpose of carrying out our will, and that when they fail to do that we should reduce them to the ranks at the first opportunity."

THE VOTE cast in the late election in Arkansas, in which W. S. Morgan stood as the Populist candidate for Governor, and, as compared to the vote for Governor given in the elections of September, 1896, is reported as follows:

	1896.	1898.
Democratic	91,114	75,362
Republican	35,836	27,524
Populist	13,990	8,332
Prohibitionist	851	679

HORACE MERRITT, of Tennessee, who was one of the bolters from the Cincinnati convention has this to say in a late issue of his paper, *The Sentinel*, of Lewisburg, Tenn.:

Horace Merritt
Endorses Ac-
tion Taken at
Cincinnati.

"The resolution offered by Captain Burkitt and adopted by the Cincinnati convention, after it had nominated Barker and Donnelly, by which the nominations are referred to the voters of the party for their ratification or rejection, was in effect what those who bolted had contended for, and if the convention had adopted this first we do not believe there would have been a bolt. As the matter now stands we can endorse the action of the convention and believe it will be the means of rebuilding and revivifying the Peoples party. We did not know that this resolution was adopted until we saw it in the Philadelphia AMERICAN, Wharton Barker's paper, which reached us only yesterday. The resolution was earnestly supported by both Barker and Donnelly, the nominees of the convention."

PLATFORM OF THE PEOPLES PARTY

Adopted by the Cincinnati Convention, September 6 1898.

As a fundamental step to the preservation of our endangered liberties we demand that the reign of corruption shall cease in our legislative halls, by the establishment of direct legislation. We must shorten the plow handles of government, by bringing the legislator closer to his principals—so close that no lobbyist can intrude between them. Through the initiative and referendum all moral and political questions can be submitted to a fair and impartial vote of the people, and if adopted by a majority of the voters become the law of the land.

While we demand that if either gold or silver is to be used as money both shall be so used, we insist that the best currency this country ever possessed was the full legal tender greenback of the civil war. And we look forward with hope to the day when gold shall be relegated to the arts of the country and the human family possess, free of tribute to bankers, a governmental full legal measure of value, made of paper, that will expand side by side with the growth of wealth and population. Then, and only then, will the people realize the full benefits of civilization and the world be made a garden of delights for mankind.

We call attention to the public school system and the postal service as exemplifications of a beneficent state socialism, which our people would only relinquish with their lives. And we demand that the carrying of messages written with pen and ink be amplified to embrace messages written by electricity, and that the train of cars which carries our letters be owned by the government to carry those who wrote the letters. No other reforms will avail much if corporations are permitted to say how much they shall take from the producers and how much they will leave them. This is taxation without representation in its worst form. It is the disgrace of our republic that foreign despotisms have defended the right of the people in these particulars, while corruption has made self-government a helpless failure in this land. We believe in the collective ownership of those means of production and distribution which the people may elect, such as railroads, telegraphs, telephones, coal mines, etc.

We are opposed to individuals or corporations fastening themselves, like vampires, on the people, and sucking their substance; and we demand that whatever can be better done by government for the enrichment of the many shall not be turned over to individuals for the aggrandizement of the few.

Hence, we insist that banks have no more right to create our money than they would have to organize our army or pass our laws.

We reaffirm the fundamental principles of the Omaha platform and declare it to be the immutable creed of our party, coeval with it in birth and filled with the spirit that launched it on its grand career. It must not be whittled away or traded off for offices. The man who proposed to do this is an enemy of mankind; he would sell the kingdom of Heaven for a mess of pottage.

In order to maintain the liberties of the people we must preserve their homes, and we therefore demand laws in the several states exempting the homes of the people from taxation absolutely in a sum not less than \$2,000, and a personal property exemption of not less than \$300 to each head of a family. To make up for this reduction of taxation we favor an income, inheritance and other like taxes.

"With malice towards none, with charity to all, with devotion to the right as God gives us to see the right," we commit our cause to the hearts and consciences of the American People.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Robbery of the Laborer by the "Highly Respectables"

The Laborer and His Pay. By SAVILLE JOHNSTON. Boston: The Laborer Publishing Co.

Wages are paid out of that which labor produces. The more the laborer produces the larger is the fund out of which wages and profits and fixed charges are paid, and if there is a just distribution of the wealth produced the more will the laborer receive. This fund is a constantly changing one. It is constantly being drawn out to pay wages and profits and interest; it is constantly being replenished by the proceeds of the sale of the products of labor. More cannot be drawn out than is poured in—not for long—for the fund will soon go dry, and disaster, collapse follow. Therefore if we cut down the value of the products of labor and pour less into this fund, we inevitably cut down wages, unless they who are paid profits and interest from this reservoir will take less, accept all the loss. The drawers of profits will, perhaps, take less, not being able to help themselves; the drawers of interest will not take less, for they don't have to. They will take the property upon which they have loaned money and leave the employer, he who draws profits, propertyless first. In short, before they will take less interest for the prompt payment of which organizers of industry, employers of labor, have pledged their property, they will squeeze out the equities in the properties, that is, the value of the properties in excess of the money borrowed upon pledge of such properties at the time of the contraction of the debt, and, leaving employers bankrupted, take the properties for themselves.

Clearly, if the value of the products of labor falls so that less money is poured into the great common fund out of which wages and profits and interest are paid, and if those who draw interest draw just as much as before those who draw profits and wages must draw less. And as interest is much of a fixed quantity it follows that as the value of the products of labor falls the drawers of interest, the creditor classes, get a greater percentage of the wealth produced and the employer and wage-earner a smaller. Of course, if the value of the products of labor rises this is reversed.

Such is the true law of wages, and it is this true law of wages that Mr. Johnston expounds. He shows that the wage-earner and employer are injured by a fall in the value of the products of labor, that they are benefitted by a rise. He shows that their interests are identical; that wages and profits swell together; that the interests of employer and wage-earner are not antagonistic.

The employer, when he organizes industry, gives direction to labor and invests his capital to this end; puts his capital at the risk of production. He relies for return upon that capital upon the success of his enterprise, upon the profits he may gain. In a word, he throws in the lot of his capital with labor. If by the use of that capital, the power that that capital gives him, he so organizes industry that labor is made more productive and the value of its product greater, he prospers. If, by reason of some incompetency, he fails to organize labor so as to make it as productive as when organized by his rivals in business, or if, by reason of some occult power, the value of the products produced by labor grows less though the productiveness of labor is increased, so that the laborer earns less though his labor produces greater wealth, then the employer will draw no profits, get no adequate return, if any, upon his capital, suffer loss. So falling prices are the *bête noir* of this employer capitalist as they are of the laborer, for falling prices cut down profits and wages.

But there is another sort of capitalist, the capitalist who loans money to the employer capitalist, who invests not in property but in debts, not in productive enterprises but in bonds and mortgages, in bonds and mortgages executed by those who put their

savings in productive enterprises and who, deeming they can make profitable use of more capital than they themselves have to invest, borrow from others, and to secure those others from loss pledge as security for the money borrowed not only the property bought with such borrowed money but all the property bought with their own capital. Therefore, if trade is bad, if values shrink, the loaner of the money suffers no loss until there has been such shrinkage that the property he loaned money upon is worth no more than the money loaned, and then he takes the property, property that cost perhaps twice, thrice, what he loaned upon it. So up to a certain point this loaner of capital profits from falling prices, while the actual user of the capital loses. And thus is there antagonism between the employer capitalist who prospers when labor prospers and the loaner capitalist. The latter gains from a fall in the value of the products of labor, for with that fall the percentage of the total wealth produced and falling to him increases. Inversely the employer capitalist who draws not fixed interest but profits, and the laborer who draws wages, suffer from cheapness. Of this Mr. Johnston says:

"I do not believe in cheapness, either in what I have to sell, my labor, or in what I wish to buy.

"If I buy a shirt for fifty cents, some poor slave has toiled in rags and poverty to sew its seams, and with every stitch is woven in a human tear or a human sigh; human blood has worked the button holes; and the thought is never out of my mind, when I put it on or take it off, that I am wearing out, not a shirt, but some poor, weak, oppressed human life.

"Cheapness walks hand in hand with poverty and degradation.

"Cheapness ruins its men, prostitutes its women, and starves its children bodily and mentally.

"Cheapness means days and nights of never ending, grinding toil for labor; and for the rich and indolent, self indulgence, revelry and merry making. It means two classes,—the rich and the poor. It means the elevation of hoarded and interest bearing capital, and the ruin of labor and its partner in toil,—active capital."

Such are true words, yet Mr. Johnston goes on to say that "that cheapness which comes from increased capacity of labor to produce . . . is good." And this is not true, such cheapness is not good, it works injustice, for it takes from the worker the full reward that should come to him with the increased productiveness of his labor and forces him to part with a percentage of that increase to the indolent and self indulgent who have done nothing to entitle them to share in an increase in the productiveness of labor brought about through no effort of theirs. An advance in wages, not cheapness, should follow any increase in the productiveness of labor, an advance commensurate to the increase in productiveness. Unless it does come the laborer will not get the full increase in recompense to which he is entitled, for if cheapness results part of that increase will go to the creditor classes.

To cheapen the money value of the products of labor by making money dear is to arbitrarily and unjustly increase the drawings of the loaning capitalist upon the general fund out of which wages and profits and interest are paid, and so to rob the laborer and employer. And money has been made dear, dear by the demonetization of silver, says Mr. Johnston, and by something else. Those responsible for making it dear are guilty of robbing the laborer, robbing the laborer for the profit of the drawers of interest, the drones of society. But this robbery being carried on not in spite of government, but with the aid, the help of government, those who do the robbing enroll themselves as the "eminently respectables." Yet this robbing is so infinitely grosser than the robberies for which thieves and forgers under the law spend years in jail in expiation of their crimes, so infinitely greater than the other robberies pale into insignificance in comparison. As Governor Pingree, of Michigan, has said the "eminently respectables" constitute the most dangerous element in society.

The great mistake of our author is the assumption that all the robberies of this class have been effected through the medium of a dear dollar. This is only one of the mediums through which they despoil, and the different agencies worked to despoil the people must soon be grasped by Mr. Johnston, a McKinley voter in 1896 but unto whom the light of truth has come in great waves, and will continue to come. McKinley Republican in 1896, silver Democrat in 1898, he will want to vote for something more than silver in 1900. But at present he believes silver remonetization would stop the robbing; he suggests, in order that some of the stealings may be squeezed out of the robbers and the people be given back their own that the Constitution of the United States be so amended as to give to the United States the

sole right to charter corporations, that all present corporations be taxed out of existence, and forced to reorganize under United States laws upon a capitalization representing the real worth of their property, under laws setting forth "that in every case the capital stock shall be fully paid in cash or its full equivalent prior to the granting of a charter." In this way he would squeeze out the present water upon which the people are made to pay interest and dividends. With these two measures, reforms, he would stop; their carrying out is all that he now asks, and he pictures the National Democracy pledging itself to such measures in National Convention in Chicago in 1900, and nominating Mr. Bryan for the Presidency, he pictures the details of that convention, gives the platform and Mr. Bryan's speech accepting the honor thrust upon him, he jots down his day dream of the campaign and the victory won. This writing of politico-economic stories detailing the history of the country during years to come is being run into the ground; the book shelves are being loaded with such literature, much of which is bound to look foolish in the not very distant future. The mass of it inviting, commanding perusal makes the reviewer weary, irritable.

However, we have no special fault to find with Mr. Johnston for writing the Democratic platform of 1900, for telling us of the enthusiasm with which the convention of 1900 nominated Bryan and Williams, George Fred. Williams of Massachusetts, or for putting a speech in Mr. Bryan's mouth with a peroration quite worthy of that gentleman, quite equal to that which carried the convention of 1896 off its feet.

But this aside, we welcome this work of a laborer because of his clear conception and presentation of the wage question, and above all for his showing of the interdependence between labor and capital. And upon this we cannot forbear the making of just one quotation before putting the book away:

"In the joint consideration of this subject we should not lose sight of the fact that there was labor before there was capital. That all capital was once labor. That even what is known as 'unearned increment' of capital is labor in some form. Mindful of these facts, capital should look upon labor not only as its partner in toil but as its ancestor.

"If capital be temporarily in the ascendancy, it is a case of the son set up in authority over the father. If labor have the temporary power, it should be the kindly authority of the parent over the child. In either case the rule should be mutual love and assistance, not strife and rebellion, for by the strong arm of war are seeds of discord sown, while progress and prosperity spring from the planting of gentle peace."

Governmental Systems Compared.

The State: Elements of Historical and Practical Politics. By WOODROW WILSON, LL.D. Revised Edition, Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. \$2.

This admirable work has stood the test of ten years' service, and now presents itself in this revised edition for final criticism. Two years since we had the then current issue under review. As a compendious text-book on the science of politics and government, ancient and modern, we paid tribute to the author's mastery of a most exacting subject, to his general soundness of judgment and impartiality. Exception was taken to certain misstatements or misconceptions, in dealing with the English system. Our criticisms have been very carefully considered in this revised edition, as will be noted presently. How thorough the revision has been may be surmised from the fact that the new edition contains 1536 paragraphs in 656 pages, the other having 1287 paragraphs and 639 pages. The scheme of the book, recognizing the rapid growth of interest in comparative politics in recent years, provides for the systematic study of the subject on sound lines. The author frankly says that much of the bulk of detail facts was reluctantly included, because of the lack of easily accessible books on national and local government machinery. No apology is required for having given so complete and easily grasped a statement of principles, methods and historical facts as are here so skillfully blended. For the general reader it is a singularly instructive reference book on comparative politics, which will probably yield him all he is likely to want to know about the origin and development of governments from the patriarchal form to those of Greece and Rome, Germany and France, Switzerland, Austria-Hungary, Sweden-Norway, Great Britain and the United States. The omission of the Russian and other systems has not only the sufficient excuse of an already overcrowded volume, but also the fact that the broad principles underlying all forms of government are fully discussed in the course of study. For college use the author bespeaks the teacher's aid in elaborating the historical portions, and in so

doing he shows a shrewdness which vouches for thoroughness in his work. "Large as the book is, it will require much supplement in the using. I trust that it will on this account prove sufficiently stimulating to both pupil and teacher to make good its claim to be the right sort of text book."

The necessity for this occasional supplementing of incomplete information was exemplified in the criticisms we offered upon the author's treatment of, especially, the English House of Lords. In explaining the position of the Cabinet he stated, in the former edition, that "Parliament always claimed the right to direct in the name of the people, of the nation"; that was the solid basis of all its pretensions, and so soon as reforms in the composition of the House of Commons had made it truly representative of the people, the House of Lords, which represents only a single class of the people, necessarily sank to a subordinate place." Upon this we remarked: "Prof. Wilson owes it to himself to revise this portion of his next edition. . . . In an educational work of such justly high pretensions we expect some definition of this 'single class' will follow." Finding only the empty and misleading suggestion that the peers are all hereditary drones, we continued: "Now, if Prof. Wilson had thought well to let his readers know that his 'single class' consists of men who have sprung from every class, illiterate sons of poor working folk, self-made men in industry, trade, commerce, finance, men of science, art, literature, law, philosophy, and the church, it would have been the truth and have served the cause of truth."

The passage quoted above from the former edition now reads thus, in this revised version, par. 862: ". . . . The House of Lords, which represents the hereditary, not the representative, principle, necessarily lost some part of its political authority. It is constantly recruited by the creation of peerages from all classes of successful men, scientists, manufacturers, lawyers, diplomatists, journalists, poets; but it is recruited by appointment, not by election; its votes are not controlled by the electorate, and precedence in affairs has fallen to the people's chamber." This is a handsome response to our appeal, and we wish it had been perfected for the sake of younger students who may not look below the surface. While it is true that the House of Lords represents the hereditary principle, a principle which philosophical radicals and Gladstone, as practical statesman, stoutly upheld, it is equally true that most of the peerages created by him and other premiers during this century have been as strictly on the representative principle as elections to the House of Commons. It might fairly be held that a larger proportion of men eminent in spheres other than those of politics and mere wealth have entered the Lords than the Commons. Whatever point is made by the remark that the Upper House "is recruited by appointment, not by election," it by no means necessarily follows that selection from above is a poorer guaranty of efficiency and character than election from below. The judgments of heads of houses, industrial and commercial, would be interesting on this.

Instead of the crude assertion in the former edition that the House of Lords "is not suffered to withhold its consent" to the lower house's measures, we now read "it does not often withhold that consent." The earlier paragraph continued, "It can stand fast against the Commons only when there is some doubt as to the will of the people," and this ended the section. Now this important sentence is added: "Its acquiescence, however, is based usually upon just views of policy rather than upon mere timidity, and its part in the quieter sorts of law making is still very influential." Prof. Wilson might profitably have added that the noisiest is not always the safest way to make laws or anything else, and legislation to promote the social well-being of the people has largely originated in and always been actively supported by that House. This sentence is repeated without alteration: the "House of Lords shares with the popular chamber the right of lawmaking, but cannot assert that right in the face of a pronounced public opinion." These words should have been added, to give it fairness: "Neither can the House of Commons." Perhaps the author intends them to correct his previous implication that the Lords, as a hereditary body, could not also be representative of public opinion. The note to paragraph 911 repeats the statement that two-thirds of the present number of peers hold peerages created during this century, and that thirteen peerages were created in 1886. It might have been well to have directed the student's attention to the significance of these facts as showing the continuous flow of good red plebeian blood into that blue reservoir. Also the fact that the larger half of these creations may be credited to Liberal premiers. Several minor points invite criticism in this section and in those treating of the administration of law and local government in England, but space forbids. It is an ungracious task to overhaul so generally excellent

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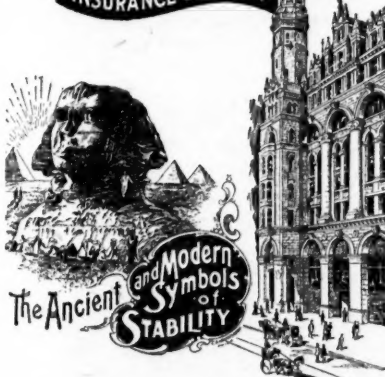
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a piece of work for defects, though the author has graciously profited by it.

The summary of constitutional and administrative developments is a fine piece of work, clear-sighted, clear-spoken, and pregnant with thought. Pre-eminent in political capacity stand the Roman and the English nations. The resemblances between them are forcibly indicated, both have been "much stronger in creating and working institutions than in explaining them; both have framed such a philosophy as they chose to entertain 'after the fact'; neither has been too curious in examining the causes of its success or in working out logical sequences of practice. Slowly, and without much concern for theories of government, each has made compromise its method, adaptation its standing procedure." The people at large, rather than a small governing class, have exercised the initiative. The great contrast between the English and Roman systems shows in the successful management by the former of popular organization, knitting scattered colonies together by the principle of representation in assemblies convened to discuss common questions. Our own system is examined with a freedom and acuteness worthy of extended notice did space permit. We quote this passage from the summary, on the merits of systems that provide for the closest relationship between the Executive and the Legislature. "In England the ministers are allowed to insist upon the appropriation of the sums they ask for, because they are held strictly responsible to Parliament for the policy involved in every financial proposal."

Under our own system there is practically no commerce between the heads of departments and Congress; the Administration sends in estimates, but the Appropriation Committees of the Houses decide without ministerial interference the amounts to be granted. . . . The integration or separation of the Executive and the Legislature may be made an interesting and important criterion of the grade and character, in this day of representative institutions, of political organization in the case of existing governments. Thus in England we have complete leadership in legislation entrusted to the Ministers (elsewhere the author notes that private members also initiate measures) and to complete leadership is added complete responsibility.

Under our own system we have isolation *plus* irresponsibility— isolation and *therefore* irresponsibility. At this point more widely than at any other our government differs from the other governments of the world. Other Executives lead; our Executive obeys." It may be observed, in passing, that under the English system, an Executive, one or more of whose members were subject to as drastic and general criticism as is now being fired at one of our Cabinet officials, would quickly be swept from power by the might of public opinion.

For a work of such wide sweep and complexity this is as near perfection as can well be looked for. Its worth is testified by the fact that it has been for several years a text-book in the University of Cambridge, Eng., probably for its information relating to foreign rather than English politics. The book is used in more than two hundred American colleges. A Japanese edition has been issued in Japan. As already stated, the author has virtually re-written his work, and has included all recent constitutional and legislative changes that have been made since its original edition. It is admirably indexed, having also an elaborate topical analysis, and is in all respects worthily produced as a working book.

* * *

Philistine Plainspeech in Gentle Garb.

As It Seems to Me. By ELBERT HUBBARD. East Aurora, N. Y.: The Roycroft Shop. \$2.50.

The Philistine. Vol. VI. Same publisher. \$1.

The Philistine is *The Philistine* and the first-named book contains eight Philistine essays by the Right Reverend Arch-Philistine. Whoso knows not the monthly missionary magazine and the irregular book issues of the Roycrofters is benighted indeed. A swarm of unconventional and artful eccentric periodicals has fluttered into and out of being in the last two or three years. They died for lack of backbone to steady what painful of brain-batter quivered under their captions. *The Philistine* is a thing of good tough life, with a strong man's balance of brain, bone, muscle, clear sight, nimble jaw, and wholesome love of fun. Two missions it seems to have; the first is the blurring out of audacious truthspeakings on the sophisticated morals and manners of the time, and the second is to clothe words of wit and wisdom, home-made and world-famous alike, in print which itself is a gospel of art. These two mis-

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sions are justified in their works, the print has eager readers, the reading makes them thinkers, and when beauty in the page adds its powerful charm to originality in the text, the vitality of the work is explained.

Of the mechanical excellence of Roycroft printing and book-making we have at various times spoken, and the set of essays under the caption "*As it Seems to Me*," has been noticed before, but here they come again in a glorified garb. A tall octavo, bound in rich-looking flexible russet chamois, lined with yellow satin, and chastely lettered in gold, almost too pretty for such constant handling as its contents doom it to get. For they are singularly alluring reading, drawing the genteel average man into a sweet train of fancy, out of which he will suddenly be downed by one straight from the shoulder. The individuality of every true essayist must crop out more or less; in these it covers the field.

The first is a delicious scorching of certain professors at Harvard, authors and authorities of high degree according to catalogues, for continuing to jog along in the old ruts, pretending that the soul of literary art in speech and writing can be inoculated into chumps at so much per operation. A single extract from the closing paragraph must suffice: "Let the writer have a vivid conception and then express it so it is at the moment clear to his Other-Self, that Self which looks on over the shoulder of every man, endorsing or censuring his every act and thought and deed. The highest reward of good work consists in the approbation of this Other-Self, and in that alone; even though the world flouts it all, you have not failed." The "Experiment in Communism" is a rich bit of humor, true to life and of universal application, a deeper philosophy underlies its droll story than some will see without ponderous foot-notes. The essays on Ecclesiastes, Canticles, and Job, while inviting criticisms as good-humored as those they bristle with, have qualities of profound and poetic thought, and reading wide, deep and outlandish, which lift them out of the common prosings on Biblical subjects. Originality in choice of points of view and in the raciness which enlivens every sentence is the conspicuous merit of these essays, which scarce any one can read without pleasurable mental shocks such as the body profitably endures from a magnetic battery. This wind-up of the one entitled, "Why I am a Philistine," gives the keynote of the book. The essay grew out of "a long and carefully written letter from an unknown gentleman who signs himself 'Retired Professor,' protesting against the liberty of thought and speech exercised by *The Philistine*, and its writers. Mr. Hubbard grandly instructs his censor in the Bible history of the Philistines, which stamps them as the strong men and true gentlemen of their day. In conclusion, he says:

"In literature he is a Philistine who seeks to express his personality in his own way. A true Philistine is one who brooks no let or hindrance from the tipstuffs of letters, who are only intent on crystallizing a life and language that are as yet very imperfect. These men strive hard to reduce all life to a geometrical theorem and its manifestations to an algebraic formula. But fate is greater than a college professor, and so far its mysteries, having given the slip to all the creeds, are still at large. My individual hazard at truth is as legitimate as yours. The self-appointed beadles of letters demand that we shall neither smile nor sleep while their presiding elders drone, but we plead in the world's Assize for the privilege of doing both. So in Art we ask for the widest, freest and fullest liberty for individuality. That's all."

Throughout the issues of *The Philistine*, and in several of the beautiful volumes recently published, there is a clear tone of sympathy with all the good efforts of good doers which the heathen label with the scare-word socialistic. For this, as for the truly exquisite craftsmanship of the Roycroft Printing Shop, it ought to be cause of proper pride that we on this side can point to our William Morris and our Kelmscot Press.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

The Lady of Castell March. By OWEN RHOSCOMYL. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. \$1.

There are probably more people of Welsh birth and descent in the United States than there are Americans who have even an outline acquaintance with the history of that romantic little land. Now that the historical novel flourishes among us there is a fine opportunity for the few who know its wild story to make their literary fortunes by teaching it to us in the form of fiction. The author's name is racy of the soil of mountainous Wales. He has a scholar's pen and enough native poetry is his make-up to tell a

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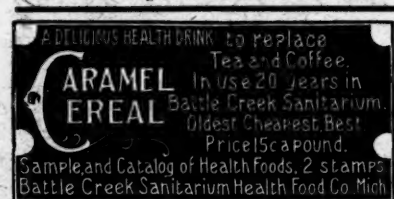
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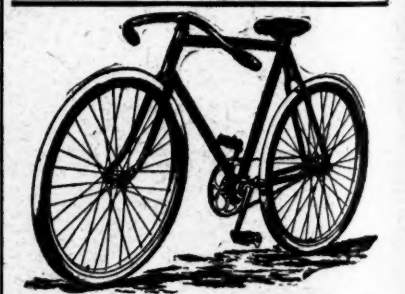
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